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peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásaṅ*, plural *babbalásaṅ*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakȃy*, plural *lala-lákăy*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawčyāin*, I go now (*mawčkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánnāin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Áwán xawádmo*? (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer: and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay
• 858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance
597 they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the
867 proper moral upbringing of children; if some families are more reli-
184 gious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in
124 sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living
184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of
836 the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sdy-dm* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very often tickled (*magkurire-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
834 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
291 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
858 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very
183 modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
577 general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
867 *Mu[illegible]aldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbál* (to finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to